priate to add a few marginal comments to my recollections of the terrible year 1917.

How will history evaluate the meaning of the successive phases of the revolution in Russia? I have described the coup in November, 1917, as the *fall* of Russian democracy in contrast to its *rise* in the preceding March. On the other hand, many foreign observers held the seizure of power by the Petrograd garrison to have been a step forward in Russia's struggle for freedom, like the victory of the Jacobins over the Girondists in the French Revolution. There must be some objective criterion for solving this controversy.

I believe that the criterion should be sought not in the procedure of transfer of power but in the response of the people to such transfer. Every revolution is a break in legality and an act of mutiny from the point of view of the deposed government. There is no legitimistic halo around a government that emerges out of a revolution, but, sooner or later, the people pass judgment on the change in regime. They may accept the new order as liberation or merely submit to the new rule. If they accept it, the new regime does not fear opposition and will ultimately bring freedom to the people. If they merely submit, the new government is condemned to maintain itself by force and terror.

This was the fundamental difference between the March and November revolutions in Russia. The nation accepted the overthrow of Tsarism unanimously and jubilantly. But the majority of the people, through their votes in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, condemned the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks. Two circumstances make the results of these elections particularly significant: first, the government overthrown by the Communists was extremely weak; second, the elections were held under strong pressure by the new government. The fact that in such circumstances the great majority of the people preserved their faith in democracy and elected representatives of the democratic, anti-Communist parties determines the historical meaning of the November coup as a defiance of the will of the people, an uprising against the democratic revolution.

This is also the difference between the events in Russia in 1917 and those of the French Revolution. The moderates in the Soviets were not Girondists. They had the masses of the people behind them and proved their capacity for resolute action by quelling riots in May, crushing the Communist revolt in July, frustrating Kornilov's mutiny in September. Yet they must carry full responsibility for the defeat in November. It cannot be denied that Lenin came to power by capitalizing on their mistakes.

I have asked myself many times the cause of Lenin's victory—or, more exactly, of the collapse of democratic forces in Russia in 1917. The simplest explanation is that democracy proved unable to solve